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To cite this article: Rhoades, G., Castiello-Gutierrez, S., Lee, J.J., Marei, M.S., & O'Toole, L.C. (2019). Marketing to International Students: Presentation of University Self in Geopolitical Space. *The Review of Higher Education 43*(2), 519-551. doi:10.1353/rhe.2019.0109.

Marketing to International Students:

Presentation of University Self in Geopolitical Space

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Abstract: Amidst public calls for greater internationalization, universities are marketing to international students. We explore how universities in regional hubs (Lee & Schoole, 2015) enact "dramaturgical performances" (Goffman, 1959), presenting images of themselves in geopolitical space. We find: (1) bifurcated marketing strategies to distinct student audiences; (2) differences between public and private universities in featuring lifestyle or academic issues, and higher education as a private or a public good, as in "academic capitalism" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004); & (3) distinctive positioning of universities by type and region in their local/national/regional space, highlighting the possibility of alternatives to dominant Anglo-American internationalization models.

Introduction

Amidst a public discourse in higher education policy circles across the world calling for greater internationalization, defined as increased "border crossing activities amidst a more or less persistence of national systems of higher education" (Teichler, 2004, p. 7; see also Stein, 2017; Tadaki & Tremewan 2013), many universities are marketing to international students. As universities project themselves to prospective students, they are enacting public performances to particular audiences (Goffman, 1959). In those performances, they are presenting images of themselves educationally, economically, and socially. At a time of widespread, market-based conceptions of knowledge and learning characterized as "academic capitalism"(Slaughter & Leslie, 1997; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), universities' performances in marketing may prioritize higher education's private, consumption benefits over its public purposes and benefits (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). And as with capitalism generally, those performances may play out on stages that reach below and beyond the nation, requiring us to consider whether and how universities position themselves in relation to local, national, regional, and global educational, economic, and political systems and agents (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002).We explore the particular meanings of internationalization in relation to the audiences, messages, and spatial positioning found in universities' public presentations of themselves to prospective international students in a pre-Brexit, pre-Trump, pre-resurgent Indian Hindu nationalist world. A core interest is whether universities in regional hubs (Lee & Schoole, 2015), sites outside the Global North that are strategic, niche markets attracting international students particularly from the region, are marketing to students in ways that diverge from or converge with models of internationalization prevalent in the Global North.

Background

Much research on internationalization concentrates on student flows. As a social phenomenon, internationalization "is often discussed in relation to physical mobililty…"(Teichler,2004,p.7).By contrast, globalization is framed in terms of global (often economic) competition and dominance of higher education relations and models (Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014; King et al., 2013; Marginson, 1999; Teichler, 2004). Yet, the two can be interconnected, as they are for us, in exploring whether and how university marketing to international students reflects global prominent, Anglo-American models of higher education and internationalization.

Considerable research on international student mobility tracks and theorizes flows of international students from the Global South to the Global North. Concepts like "brain drain" (Baruch, Budhwar, & Khatri, 2007; Cervantes & Guellec, 2002; Rizvi, 2005; Solimano, 2008) pose a relationship between countries in developed and developing regions, one embedded in neocolonial patterns of continued extraction of talent/wealth from former colonies by the developed world (Rizvia, 2005). So, too, with "push" and "pull" conceptualizations of student movement, in which the focus is on international students moving from less to more resourced nations globally (Altbach, 2004). Similarly, in research on types of international study, like study abroad, most work is on students from the Global North studying elsewhere (McCabe, 2001—see Castiello & Li, 2016 for an exception).

Yet, some have called into question such unidirectional flows, referring to "brain circulation" (Lee & Kim, 2010), a pattern that benefits both global sectors. Others have argued that we need to focus on diasporas of scholars, fluid networks that reach beyond national borders in global patterns (Chen & Koyama, 2013). Nevertheless, recent scholarship points to the

continued dominance of a Western "global imaginary," defined as prevailing social understandings about the presumed preeminence and supremacy of Western economic and educational models, of free market capitalism and consumerism, and of Western higher education as "a desirable product in the global higher education market" (Stein & de Andreotti, 2016, p.72; see also, Steger, 2008). Some scholars call for exploration and critique of this imaginary in research on internationalization (Stein, 2017). We heed that call.

As with research on international student flows, much research on national and university internationalization policies and practices has concentrated on the Global North, on dominant systems internationally. As one recent study notes, "[I]nternational higher education is understood to be an important export by many federal governments of countries in the Global North"(Stein & de Andreotti, 2016, p. 231; see also Marginson, 2006). Indeed, over a decade ago, Luijten-Lub, Van der Wende, & Huisman (2005, pp. 160-1) found that, "The comparison of national policies for internationalization shows that [it] is no longer just about student and staff mobility. …[I]t is seen to play an important economic role in society as a whole."

Much the same is true of research on universities.It is centered in continental European and Anglo-American contexts in which universities undertake measures to replace limited or declining government allocations with self-generated revenues from various markets, including international student markets (Clark, 1998; Metcalfe, 2010; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997).

Certainly, many scholars have traced how globalization promotes models of the Global North (Brown, 2011; Marginson, 1997; Slaughter & Leslie, 1997) impacting systems and universities throughout the world. Thus, much work focuses on how emerging systems and institutions are influenced by Western globalization (Altbach & Balán, 2007; Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014; King, Marginson, & Naidoo, 2011; Rhoads & Torres, 2006), including through

international organizations, ranking systems, and student markets (Stein, 2017). The focus is on how the dominant models and systems pull and push universities in emerging systems to adopt prevailing practices in higher education. That unidirectional dominance may operate through national and institutional policies that embody a "global imaginary" that privileges Western higher education, as Stein and de Andreotti (2016) trace in the case of Canada. It may be embodied or to some extent overcome in university partnerships, as George Mwangi (2017) traces in partnerships between universities in what she calls the Majority and Minority worlds. Whatever the case, as Blanco Ramírez (2014, p. 124) writes, too often "Globalization has been used to euphemize, negate, or justify geo-political relations that are imperialistic in nature."

A central part of our aim is to move beyond some of the limitations of existing work. As with some recent scholarship (Gao, 2015; George Mwangi, 2017; Stein, 21017) we seek to "trouble" the idea of internationalization that presumes and accepts the prevailing models. We do so substantively and analytically. That is at the core of our exploring our questions in the context of universities outside the Global North. Therein lies our interest in studying universities in regional hubs (Ghemawat & Altman, 2014; Lee & Schoole, 2015), which have been defined as nations and institutions that are "strategically engaged in cross-border education…initiatives" to establish niche markets in attracting students from the region, or from the Global North (Knight, 2011, p. 6; see also, Jon, Lee, & Byun, 2014, p. 694). The ways that these universities market and position themselves in the global competition for international students may vary by national context.

The work of Marginson (see Marginson, 2007; Marginson, Kaur, & Sawir, 2011) is instructive here. By virtue of their geographic position, as well as their global economic position, Australian universities have distinctively positioned themselves in relation to international

students compared to the practices of more dominant educational Anglo-American powers. More than that, Marginson et al. (2011) have pointed to distinctive "strategic responses" of countries and universities in the Asia Pacific. Scholars should be sensitive to the possibility that there may be local and regional variations to universities' marketing practices that reflect particular universities' agency and distinctive location (Maldonado-Maldonado, 2014; Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). For instance, the marketing of some universities to international students may be about the "battle for minds" (Robertson & Keeling, 2008) or the regional and global promotion of a particular language and culture. Moreover, multiple and sometimes competing aims and projects can be expressed in the public images that universities present to prospective international students (Mollis, 2006).

Thus, we are seeking to center regions outside the Global North in exploring how universities present themselves to international students. We are looking at internationalization from the perspective of universities in the Global South. Now, we turn to a discussion of the concepts we draw on to frame that work, emerging from our literature review.

Conceptual Framework

Three concepts ground and organize our analysis. They address different levels and dimension of analysis. And they are embedded in our three research questions. The first concept is "framing", drawn from Goffman's (1959) "dramaturgical" perspective on social relations and establishments. As Manning (2014, p.267, 268) notes, despite the genius of Goffman in generating metaphors about social life, "there is no full statement of a dramaturgical theory of organizations," and "Goffman's place in organization theory remains underdeveloped". Goffman uses the imagery of the theater to express the ways in which people present themselves publicly and try to maintain that image of themselves. For our purposes, we take the ideas that as with

social life, much work of social organizations is conducted on a public stage. The public images of the organization that are performed are not some essential identity but rather are "frames" that are presented on stage by actors to an audience (that is distinct from what takes place "back stage" or from some internal self that underlies organizational actions).

Thus, organizations can be understood as actors engaged in public performances that seek to elicit a certain response from the audience, such as to mobilize them (Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986), or in our case to recruit international students. Sociological dramaturgy's focus is on the "dynamics of social interaction" (Manning, 2014, p. 272). Our focus here is on one party to that interaction, the actors, with an eye to how they frame their public performances to particular audiences (we leave the study of those audiences and reactions to others). Thus, we are interested in what particular audiences of prospective international students universities are directing their performances to (which may be different than the students who enroll). Our first research question, then, is: *To what audiences of international students are universities orienting their performance?*

One criticism of Goffman's work is that "it ignores larger social, political, ad economic factors" (Manning, 2014, p. 275). Thus, we inform our focus on framing with a second concept, that of "academic capitalism" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). We take from that concept the insight that higher education institutions in some nations are moving to various markets, engaging in market and market-like behaviors, establishing new paths or "circuits" by which to produce revenue and prestige (e.g., international students, online education, technology transfer), and commodifying the higher education experience in the process. As an example of the latter, scholars have analyzed American college and university marketing to students in ways that foreground and feature higher education more as a consumption good, a commodity and lifestyle

to be enjoyed than as an academic experience (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). The public good functions of universities (by way of serving community and broad social interests) are thus subordinated to those of private good functions, in regards not only to students, but also to universities themselves.

The organizational conceptualization of academic capitalism by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) links resource seeking behaviors that might be described as "entrepreneurial" to "a shift from the 'public good knowledge/ learning regime' to the 'academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime.'" (Mars & Metcalfe, 2009, p. 31). One key is that the latter expresses "neoliberal" discourses, policies, and practices that emphasize success in the private marketplace as the key to progress and that "focus less on contributions to the welfare of society and more on efforts to empower individual economic actors" (Mars & Metcalfe, 2009, p. 5) such as universities. That is quite different from framing entrepreneurialism as a functional pathway by which organizations can better fulfill their academic mission (Clark, 1998), from a set of values into which students are socialized without compromising the quality of their education (Mars, Bresonis, & Szelenyi, 2014; Mendoza, 2007), or from "social entrepreneurship" that is "focus[ed] on advancing social mission over creating economic wealth" (Mars & Metcalfe, 2009, p. 3; see also Mars & Burd, 2013; Mars & Rhoades, 2012). Returning to Goffman, we examine universities' dramaturgical performances in presenting themselves to prospective international students in terms of their storylines, or scripts if you will, about what is being marketed (social lifestyle or academic study) and the focus on the public and/or private purposes of higher education.

Moreover, our application of academic capitalism incorporates the organizational components of the theory often overlooked in the literature, by focusing on emergent "interstitial

units." These "new organizations have emerged from the interstices of established colleges and universities to manage new activities related to generation of external revenues" (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004, p. 23). In universities that are recruiting and deriving revenues and/or resources from international students, the international student offices are such interstitial units—hence, our focus on them.

Our second research question, then, which is in two parts, is: *In playing to prospective international students, what is the balance of emphasis between academic and lifestyle aspects of the university experience, and relatedly, what is the balance between the framing of higher education as a public good with public purposes, versus as a private good?*

The third concept that guides our analysis is that we situate the academic capitalist presentation of university self in specific geopolitical space that is occupied and expessed by universities (Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014; King et al., 2011; Maldonado-Maldonado, 2014; Rhoads & Torres, 2006; Rhoads, Torres, & Brewster, 2006). By that we mean that there are various local, national, regional, and global forces and agencies that bear on organizational actors in any particular locale, and that universities can themselves exercise agency that express aspects of their locations geographically and politically (Marginson & Rhoades, 2002). For example, the dramaturgical performances of universities in regional hubs may be influenced by prevalent models of enacting these performances in the Global North. The geographical and political positions (e.g., as former colonies) in which universities operate may lead them to enact performances that reflect prevailing, Anglo-American models of internationalization. In such models, international students as sources of "cash" or in need of "charity" and "development" (Stein & de Andreotti, 2016). More than that, in such models, universities present themselves as enterprises that will benefit (in revenues and prestige) from internationalization.

In short, dramaturgical presentations of universities in regional hubs may embody the influence of a Western global imaginary (Steger, 2008) discussed above. Accordingly, the messaging may feature universities' global rankings and/or partnerships with prestigious universities of the Global North. However, universities in regional hubs may also exercise agency in their performances in ways that speak to significant local, national, and/or regional relations and responsibilities. Thus, they may feature partnerships and roles that concentrate on commitments to mutuality and to higher education's public responsibilities to and role in their locales and regions (George Mwangi, 2017).

Thus, we are looking at both the stages and rationales embedded in messaging. Are there reference to local, national, or regional contexts, roles, and responsibilities, whether to distinctive histories and roles of the universities, the regions in which they are situated, or to particular social responsibilities? Similarly, are messages primarily about the success and standing of the particular universities in relation to their connections to and partnerships with institutions in the Global North?

Our third research question, then, is: *In presenting themselves to international students, do universities present themselves in historical and current geopolitical space that at least in part is on a stage that is local, national, or regional, and is attentive to considerations of these realms, or are they more exclusively attuned to rankings and partnerships with the Global North and shaped by dominant Anglo-American narratives of that realm?*

Methods

Although attentive to the historical features of the institutions (and nations/regions) we studied, our multiple case study design of two universities each in five countries was based on data drawn from a circumscribed time period. The geographic scope of our work and number of

cases argued against tracking cases over time. The complexity of the cross-regional analyses, the richness of the website documentation, and the theoretical sampling purposes underlying our choice of countries and institutions led us to focus on ten institutions (Yin, 1994).

Multiple case study design choices involve trade-offs between breadth and depth. They may involve larger or smaller samples—Hartley and Morphew's (2008) studied 48 institutions' viewbooks, whereas Saichaie and Morphew's (2014) studied 12 institutions' websites. Our choice to study ten cases in this exploratory study was driven not by a (mistaken) sampling logic of achieving a large number of respondents, seeking representation and generalizability, but rather by a (theoretical) replication logic of selecting potentially similar and predictably contrasting cases by region and institutional type (Yin, 1994, pp. 45–47).

One logic driving our sampling was the concept of regional hubs. We opted to sample for maximal but manageable (size and language-wise) variation (Yin, 1994). The five countries in which we selected universities (South Africa, South Korea, Mexico, Argentina, and Egypt) were nations that were current or past regional hubs for cross-national flows of students within the geographical region. They were also countries with internationally renowned universities. Thus, South Africa has long been a hub and economic center of sub-Saharan Africa (Lee & Sehoole, 2015), as has South Korea within Asia (Jon et al., 2014). Within Latin America, Mexico has long been a hub (Cantwell, Luca, & Lee, 2009), and Argentina has been one of several hubs in South America (e.g., the University of Buenos Aires has been called the flagship of the region—see Rhoads et al., 2006—p. 174; see also Altbach, 1998). In the Middle East, Egypt was for much of its history a key hub for the Arab world and beyond, and in recent decades still holds a prominent place regionally—it has the highest number of international students in the area (Altbach, 1998—see Table 1; UNESCO, 2014). Our sample of nations covered major regions of the Global South

(Africa, Asia, and Latin America). It afforded us the opportunity to examine whether and how universities in these hubs market themselves in ways similar to or diverging from Anglo-American patterns of internationalization, academic capitalism style.

As part of our three research questions, we were interested in a comparison beyond that of possible variations among regional hub countries. We were also interested in variations within countries. Here again our sampling was driven by a key concept—academic capitalism. Within each national system, we selected matched pairs of universities. We focused on those universities most likely to have the institutional resources to recruit international students. Just as wealthier countries "have more resources to invest in internationalization efforts" (Kauppinen, Mathies, & Weimer, 2014, p. 259), so, too, with individual institutions. Such "critical case sampling" is based on the logic that "if it doesn't happen there, it won't happen anywhere"(Patton, 2002, p. 236), making our sample institutions sort of best cases of leading universities in regional hubs. More than that, where possible we matched leading public and private universities. That made sense given the different financing structures, tuition policies, and functions of universities in these sectors (Altbach & Levy, 2005; Geiger, 1986; Johnstone & Marcucci, 2010; Levy, 1986). It also made sense given that academic capitalism may play out differently in different countries, and in different sectors within countries (Cantwell & Kauppinen, 2014). We might expect to find some different marketing messages in public and private universities as did Morphew and Hartley (2006). We might also not find such differences, as in two other U.S. studies (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). Unfortunately, South Africa lacked high prestige private universities (as measured in international rankings), so we chose two publics in different cities (see Table 1).

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Yet our cases were not the universities as a whole, as in typical higher education research that adopts a holistic case study approach of bounded organizations (Yin, 1994). Rather, we followed Bartlett and Vavrus' (2014) lead in rethinking case study research. We extended our conception of the case beyond the boundaries of universities to include the relevant countries and regions. Too often, case study research overlooks the significance of larger contexts in shaping "the case." By contrast, we are sensitive to those larger contexts. That sensitivity is borne of the theoretical points of our analysis and of our coding, in relation to audience, academic capitalism, and geopolitical positioning.

Moreover, following Bartlett and Vavrus (2014), we also extend our conception more deeply within the individual universities to focus on the institutions' international student offices. Our unit of analysis is embedded (see Yin, 1994 on embedded case studies) within the organization, at the level of interstitial units (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004)—in this case, the international student offices that bridge university academic and student services units, on the one hand, and external markets of students, on the other (such offices are sometimes part of larger offices of international affairs and global initiatives that address partnerships and other forms of internationalization). Our focus was partly a practical matter of concentrating on a manageable dataset—the content on general institutional websites is extensive. Mostly, though, it was a theoretical/analytical matter borne of our focus on academic capitalism, and on the interstitial units that emerge in this context. We studied international student office's homepages and the subsequent relevant pages that can be accessed from them.

Our analysis of the websites was of the text, images, and where available, of any videos that were linked (Margolis & Pauwels, 2011). Given the critical theoretical perspectives we work out of, we undertook critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1993, 1995), by which we mean

situating our discourse analysis in the context of local, national, regional, and global relations of power, currently and historically, as with histories of colonialism (see also, Metcalfe, 2012).

Utilizing websites for examining marketing messages and materials carries embedded limitations, but also significant advantages. First, there may be variation among institutions, and in the same institution over time in the resources committed to marketing online. We offer a content analysis of websites from a circumscribed point in time (all websites were accessed between late September 2015 and early March 2016). Second, we could not determine authorship of website materials, which could help us trace and parse the meaning and significance of messages. Third, websites may not have been updated with the most current information when we accessed them. All of these limitations give us good reason to exercise caution in drawing inferences from these sites about institutional intentions, though that is not our analytical focus.

Yet there are significant advantages to studying websites. U.S. students rely on websites as a key source of information about universities (Carnevale, 2005; NACAC, 2011). So, too, for international students, university websites are an important source of information in selecting universities (Grove, 2011; Lee, 2008). In addition, websites represent a significant public face of universities, which is particularly valuable given our framework to examine how institutions are presenting themselves in a geopolitical space. Moreover, some scholarship has focused on the ways universities use websites in marketing (Hossler, 1999; Pook & Lefond, 2001; Schneider & Bructon, 2004), with one recent study offering evidence on the power of website imagery in shaping potential students'perceptions about and applications to institutions (Ihme, Sonnenberg, Barbarino, Fisseler, & Sturmer, 2016).And previous scholarship has focused on university websites in recruiting students in the U.S. (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014), as well as on the

significance of web sites as a resource for international undergraduate students, in many cases being the top source of information affecting their choice (Archer, 2015).

In order to organize a consistent coding scheme that was systematically applied by each researcher, the authors collectively developed initial coding categories, directly linked to the concepts in our research questions. We then each coded common sections. Subsequently, we met as a team, compared notes, revised and developed coding categories, and ensured coding consistency in applying them in the website analysis (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Bracken, 2002). In this way, we came to shared interpretations of the coding categories (e.g., see Hartley & Morphew, 2008).

By way of familiarizing ourselves with the websites, the first cycle coding categories (Saldaña, 2009) were descriptive. They had to do with references to international students, language used to describe the university, and any reference to geographical settings. The second cycle coding concentrated on categories coming out of the basic concepts of the study, including the prospective student audience being played to (i.e., social dramaturgy and to what audiences performances are being directed), the marketing messages in terms of academic and social emphasis and in relation to conceptualizations of public and private good (as embedded in academic capitalism), and the geopolitical positioning of the institution (in relation to whether and how messages relate to prevailing Anglo-American models of internationalization or speak to local, national, and or regional social responsibilities). In these ways, we explore particular meanings of internationalization.

With regard to our first research question, we wanted to specify the locales of the audiences being played to, an important consideration in Goffman's dramaturgical approach. Was it more focused on students in an immediate region, or if the focus was more global, what

particular countries in that global arena were being played to? Partly, that involved focusing on the languages on the website (and those that were not present). We were also interested in the types of students being played to, for example, whether it was more degree seeking students or students seeking a short-term experience. Such considerations relate as well to a second key concept framing our research—academic capitalism.

Relatedly, with regard to our second research question, a key dimension of moving to the market that we concentrated on was whether the site focused more on social matters of personal lifestyle or on academic matters, which other scholars have linked to presenting higher education as a private consumption good, or more of a public good (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). Partly this was a matter of exploring the sites in terms of the presence of a colonial or tourist gaze that casts the student as a first world consumer of a product, and the host country as a curious commodity to be consumed by students from the Global North (Ogden, 2007. But we were also interested in a second dimension of moving to the market, that of universities' commercialization. That is, what are the ways, if at all, that universities featured themselves as prestigious and wealthy individual enterprises, like commercial firms, utilizing internationalization as a means by which to enhance their competitive position. And in what ways, if at all, did universities feature themselves as being committed to the public good through reference to various public projects/missions of internationalization?

With regard to our third research question, our geopolitical positioning coding concentrated on references to and positions of partners who were identified on the sites, or on rankings or references to "world class" or "international standard of work." We were interested in the ways in which the presentation of selves by these universities in regional hubs was shaped by prevailing Anglo-American models of internationalization that reflect the dominant global

imaginary of Western higher education. Such a pattern would be reflected in a focus on international rankings, partnerships with universities in the Global North, and sense of the universities being independent entities, in some sense detached from the connections and public commitments of their locales. Moreover, we were interested in whether the stage being played on suggested some attention to or variation by local, national, and regional considerations.

Finally, we speak briefly to our positionality. International and comparative scholarship benefits enormously from in-depth, local knowledge of the countries in which the case study sites were situated. Our team of authors included an Egyptian, a Mexican, and U.S. citizens with years of extensive international experience in Argentina, South Africa, and South Korea.

Findings

We organize our findings around audience (types of students and parts of the world), public and private good mission, and positioning in geopolitical space. Each of the patterns we discuss lend nuance to and problematize the idea of internationalization as it is enacted in the public recruitment efforts of universities in these five regional hubs. Overall, we found (1) a bifurcated marketing strategy in the student audiences being targeted; (2) differences between public and private universities' in featuring academic and lifestyle issues, and in featuring higher education as a public and/or private good; and (3) distinctive positioning of universities by type and region in their local, regional, and global geopolitical space.

Audience

Many universities we studied engaged in bifurcated marketing to student audiences. Some messaging was more geared to degree seeking students, speaking to academic quality, rankings, and prestige. Other messaging was about lifestyle and consumer-like academic tourism, as geared to study abroad students (Caton & Santos, 2009; Kavakas,2013; Zemach-Bersin,2009). Whereas

the former marketing was mostly directed at regional students, who often represented the majority of international students, the latter was targeted more towards students from the Global North.

The UP (a private Argentinian university) website epitomizes this pattern in its differentiated Spanish and English sites. The Spanish website was directed toward international Latin American students. The top of the page advertised that Buenos Aires had won QS Rankings for Best Student Cities for Latin American students, and was the top Latin American university for international students. The Spanish website gave potential international students an overview of all UP's degrees, from undergraduate to terminal degrees, and the departments in which one could earn degrees. Moreover, in the Spanish-language "International Student Guide," 18 of the 33 embassies and consulates identified in Buenos Aires were Latin American.

By contrast, UP's English site catered to "Study Abroad Programs", mostly North American (e.g., the spelling was not the English way—"programmes") or in the Global North.

> Universidad de Palermo has a proven track record designing and teaching academic programs for partner institutions. International students can choose from more than 1000 for-credit courses the university opens yearly, achieving a considerable breadth and depth of academic offering.(on the "About UP" page)
>
> Working closely with universities and educational companies we provide customized study abroad programs. Approaching each course on a case-by-case basis, we make sure unique needs are satisfied. (on the "About UP" page)

UP's site also had specific programs in "Spanish as a Second Language", "Latin American Cultural Identity," and custom-made for partner universities. Again, short-term students from the Global North were the primary audience.

A similar contrast was manifested in the AUC (private Egyptian university) website. The English website included an extensive sub-portal for international student services. It provided information about campus life, sports, and the Center for Arabic Study Abroad (non-degree seeking programs), whereas information in regards to other academic programs was lacking. Moreover, the site marketed Egypt as a major tourist attraction. Under "Special Attractions," it provided maps, pictures, and details for two dozen sightseeing tours around Cairo and Egypt, translated into seven languages. The language read like a tourist brochure: "No doubt, Cairo is one of the most unique cities in the world. Where else can you visit the Giza Pyramids, shop at a modern art gallery, and enjoy a meal on the Nile all in the same day?"

On the Arabic site, this 'International Students' sub-portal was notably absent. That site focused more on the academic rigor of the AUC as a U.S. accredited institute, with phrasing such as, "The premier English-language institute in Egypt and in the region." It was aimed at local and regional students, in contrast to the English site, which targeted students from the Global North to the former, it offered marketing messages such as, "American education in the heart of the Middle East," suggesting that regional students could get a U.S. education without leaving the Arab world. To the latter, it offered the ultimate in travel experiences in that world, presenting AUC as a "global crossroads."

By contrast, CU (public) in Egypt had quite a different presentation of self. CU's English website was quite limited—once one clicked past the home page, it usually returned to the Arabic version. Notably, the exception in this regard was the College of Antiquities link, which had an impressive English website. The International Bureau Office site had limited English pages. And the three images of students on the site included one of three women in hajibs, one of two Arab women (one in a hajib) consulting a professor/ professional (a woman not wearing a hajib), and

one of six graduates, with none of the four women wearing hajibs. Thus, although CU was mostly not actively targeting students beyond the Arabic speaking world, there was still some evidence of bifurcated messaging in the site's imagery.

The South African universities, UCT and Wits (both publics) were playing to regional audiences within Africa as well as global audiences. From the former, "UCT prides itself on its diverse student body, which reflects the many cultures and backgrounds of the region. The university also … is currently home to over 4,000 international students from 111 different countries". Like UCT, Wits was also clearly playing to particular Global North audiences. For instance, UCT's site was only in (British) English, whereas Wits' site, also in British English, had Portuguese and French translation tabs. Partly, it was clear in repeated phrasing about international standards of quality, world class work, and international rankings: "With more than 85% of our research published in accredited international journals, we … collaborate with the best researchers and institutions across the globe" (on the "about Wits" page).

Notably, the South Korean and Mexican university sites also had much discussion of academic degree programs. That was evident visually too, in who was pictured and what partnerships and programs were featured. The websites focused on the academic prestige and quality of instruction and research, providing international rankings and accreditations. Indeed, there was no real evidence of bifurcated marketing in on the two South Korean university sites, which provided limited, practical information related to application deadlines and logistics. An academic focus was also found for ITESM—at the top of the site for international students was a banner picture from the institution's home page, "QS 5 Star Ranking," which the institution was awarded in 2015 for its level of internationalization (www. studyinmexico.com.mx).

The above patterns speak to the complexity of the global economy's international student marketplace. Universities present different audiences of prospective students different types of commodities (degree programs versus short-term experiences) and different experiences. Different student markets were being targeted for prestige and sometimes for revenues.

A related consideration in marketing to student audiences was the signaling on the websites in terms of institutional partnerships that were featured. Websites emphasized international partnerships, perhaps on the principle that organizations, like individuals, are judged by the company they keep. Such associations were offered to establish legitimacy in the eyes of different populations of prospective students.

Again, the South African universities evidenced bifurcated messaging, featuring regional and global connections. Thus, in South Africa, the UCT site was quite detailed in its reference to partnerships with the Global North, identifying, among others, partnerships with Princeton, the London School of Economics, Tsinghua University (China), and the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. Similarly, Wits' pages referenced CERN, which is the European Organization for Nuclear Research, and internationally known paleontological sites in the area, as well as referring to its "global footprint." At the same time, and sometimes in the same paragraph, the website spoke to regional relations: "We have over 50 active projects on the African continent and the University is represented globally through our partnerships, collaboration, staff, and student exchanges and our alumni around the world. Wits was also the co-founder of the African Research Universities Alliance" (on the "About Wits page).

In the case of South Korea, both KU and SNU emphasized their hundreds of international agreements and partnerships. KU provided a detailed list of its many bilateral agreements (625 university-wide agreements and 193 college-level agreements). SNU specifically named

universities in the West without a complete listing, but indicated the total number of exchange agreements with 56 countries and 273 institutions. The SNU site then made specific references to elite and private U.S. universities, for instance, such as NYU and Penn (the Wharton school).As in the information presented to audiences of students, the South Korean university websites were not bifurcated; rather they featured the high volume of their partnerships and foregrounded arrangements with universities in the Global North.

Along similar lines, in Argentina, the UP site highlighted partnerships with 16 institutions, seven of which were located in the U.S. Most of UPs international agreements were with elite universities, such as Yale, NYU, the Sorbonne, University of Southern California, Michigan State, Carnegie Mellon, and ITESM. For its part, the ITESM site listed partnerships with Harvard and MIT and presented itself as "one of the universities with the greatest number of academic international cooperation agreements in Latin America." With much more specificity, UNAM's site had a list of all active agreements, sorted by continent, country, and then alphabetically.

Public and Private Good Mission

A second set of findings related to bifurcated conceptions of internationalization. There was a differential focus on academic versus social/lifestyle aspects of the university experience (as in Hartley & Morphew, 2008). There were also variations in messages that relatedly featured more a public or a private good framing of higher education (as in Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Across regional hubs, the private universities were more international in the sense of being more oriented toward "global" markets, especially to students from the Global North. In Argentina and Mexico (but also in Egypt) particularly, the private universities were far more globally oriented than the publics. In Argentina, UP situated itself both regionally and globally by mentioning its place in the rankings in Latin America and the World. In addition, the

description of the university on the English-language site indicated that "students from 51 different countries create a global environment at Universidad de Palermo" (http://www.palermo.edu/studyabroad/about_up.html). A similarly global orientation was evident throughout ITESM's website. The discourse of the videos on that site also exhibited this orientation, speaking, for example, to the "prestigious global partnerships with 684 universities in 47 countries" (on the "YouTubeWatch" section of the page), and highlighting its mission to educate "globally competent" leaders.

The private universities were monetizing Global North students' study of language and cultures abroad to enhance the revenues and prestige of the recruiting institution. The universities were acting more as independent firms seeking to maximize institutional revenues than as not-for-profit educational institutions seeking to enhance cultural understanding or some other public good outcomes. An excellent example of this was UP's use of "Custom-Made" Study Abroad Programs for universities and educational companies in the Global North. UP appeared to be engaging in business-like marketing that exoticized and commodified their region/country's culture to appeal to a tourist gaze, in order to expand their prestige and presence in the Global North. To a somewhat lesser extent, the site of the public Argentian university, UBA, also was suggestive of a tourist gaze. It had a power point link in Spanish with basic tourist information about Argentina, weather in the Southern Hemisphere and which months are summer and winter, Time Zone, tax free rules (duty free), and a conversion chart of metric to "English" or "Imperial" system. Although the power points were in Spanish, the information was directed to prospective students in the Global North unfamiliar with various aspects of Latin American life. In the case of ITESM, over 50% of their partner institutions were located in North America and Europe and over 60% of the international students they attracted came from those two regions

(http://www.itesm.mx/wps/wcm/connect/sim/study+in+mexico/about+us/international+alliances/). Such patterns speak to academic capitalism infusing the ways in which universities present themselves. It is one aspect of globalization that involves commercializing universities.

Such a stance towards internationalization played out in what was featured on the websites by way of appeal to prospective students. That gets us back to the bifurcated marketing that we discussed in the previous findings section. On the public universities' sites, the focus was far more and almost exclusively academic, whereas on the sites of private universities there was considerable focus on social matters of lifestyle. What is being sold on the latter is more a sort of lifestyle, presenting the higher education experience as a consumption item, as is often the case particularly in a shorter term, study abroad sort of experience. Thus, the public Mexican and Korean universities (UNAM and SNU), as well as the private Korean university (KU), as an exception to the rule, offered very little in terms of text or visuals about what in the U.S. would be called co-curricular and leisure activities.

Consider by way of contrast two private university sites. For instance, ITESM's site presented, as an integral part of their educational model for international students, a wide array of sports (including American football), cultural, social and student leadership activities.

> Here at the Tecnológico de Monterrey we know that extracurricular activities play an important role in the development of our students, and that is why, at all of our campuses, you will have the opportunity to take part in a wide variety of cultural and sporting activities, as well as joining one of our student associations. (on the "campus life" page)

Moreover, the website had testimonials from international students foregrounding the social, commercial, lifestyle dimensions of their experiences:

> The facilities at the Tec are amazing. I have never seen a prettier university. When I first saw it in a photo, I said to myself, I can't believe that I am going there!
>
> One great thing about the Tec is that the trips, the parties, the food, and even sports are so much fun. I don't want to leave! (on the "study in Mexico" page)

Such lifestyle experiences are at the core of the marketing appeal to prospective students, emphasizing not engagement in cultural exchange and understanding, but rather another kind of private, commercial exchange, a purchasing of a lifestyle experience.

Much the same was true of the AUC site in Egypt. It provided links to offices offering international students various services related to units for "student life," "well being," and "student engagement." It also had a one-minute video showing campus life and sports, as well as some reference to classes, labs, and library in "Egypt's global university."

By contrast, the public universities in these nations were far more likely to feature engagement in national, regional, and even international cultural projects that were about advancing the development and quality of life of the countries and regions in which they were situated. This is not to say that these universities did not seek to advance their prestige. They most certainly did. In most cases, with the notable exception of the public university in Argentina, these institutions spoke to their international, "world class" standard of quality. Moreover, their websites featured international partnerships with prestigious universities in the Global North as a means of signaling their prestige.

What set the publics apart, though, was that their websites also spoke to responsibilities that expressed a commitment to their public role and public good mission. For example, in South Africa, Wits' "About" page had a section entitled "Our global footprint" which indicated that, "From trying to discover what lies beneath the Earth's surface to saving lives through better

healthcare systems, Wits is on the ground, making a difference" (on the "about Wits" page). Some of the institutions´ engagement abroad was directed to their national, cultural interest in distinctive ways. Similarly, the engagement of Mexico´s UNAM in the U.S. was presented in a video in terms not of advancing the culture and language of their home country internationally: "The institution is thriving beyond its borders, preserving and disseminating both the Spanish language and Mexican culture." (on a video on the homepage).

Both Mexican universities had several sites/liaison offices in the U.S. But for UNAM, that presence was primarily a cultural one. It was framed as a public service project to Mexican Americans and Mexicans in the U.S. By contrast, for ITESM, the sites in the U.S. were about attracting U.S. students to the institution and strengthening ties with prestigious research universities in the Global North.

Along similar lines, CU's site described itself as "a knowledge lighthouse for Egypt and its regional surroundings"(http://old.cu.edu.eg/Home/Vision). The vision it offered was to "create knowledge that will be distributed and applied to better the lives of local and regional individuals, societies, institutions and environment." Finally, although CU may be concerned about its prestige, that concern was expressed on a local and regional stage. The site of CU described the institution as "one of the most influential universities in the Middle East" and "as one of the most prestigious universities in the *Arab* world."

Notably, then, the identities and missions of the public universities were driven more by public projects than by market-oriented logics of global academic capitalism. Yet, such messaging is complex and interrelated with aspirations regarding the standing of the university as an independent institution, apart from any local, national, or regional social responsibilities. Thus, there was reference on the CU site to the International Students Bureau's mission to attract

international students to “maintain the status of CU as a grand Arab university and increase its competitive edge at the regional and international levels, because of the inevitable impact in improving the quality of the educational process...” (on the CU”s “ISB” English language page).

In terms of public and private good mission, then, most universities were engaged in leveraging international students in a global competition for prestige (and sometimes revenue). The two South Korean universities were characterized by that sort of private good focus, not in the sense of international students’ consumption of higher education as a social lifestyle, but rather in terms of the universities positioning themselves as independent players, like firms, in the global higher education marketplace. For example, KU’s greetings page from theVice-President of International Affairs identified as one of the institution’s three strategic initiatives, to “raise the University’s international profile.”

> Office of International Affairs plays a key-role in helping to raise the University’s International Profile. In the increasingly competitive higher education market, it is important to promote Korea University as not only a world-class academic institution, but also to share with external audiences the many outstanding accomplishments of our professors and researchers. (on the OIA “greetings” page of KU)

However, just as certainly, the private institutions in the regional hubs were most aggressive and focused in trying to monetize students from the Global North. That was particularly evident in the featuring of study abroad opportunities, as well as in appeals to students that marketed higher education as a consumption good.

Geopolitical Space

A third set of findings regarding market positioning in geopolitical space overlap somewhat with the public/private variations in audience and public/ private good mission.

However, there are also distinctive regional patterns. Here we address the ways in which, if at all, the websites reveal a focus on regional position, role, and responsibility. Notably, the websites of the two South African universities, as well as of CU in Egypt, and UNAM in Mexico explicitly articulated regional positioning in public projects. Relatedly, KU's website featured a national role for the institution, in addition to its global one.

In the case of South Africa, history, place, and geopolitical space were prominently featured on the websites of both UCT and Wits, though in distinctive presentations of university selves. On both sites, for instance, the African continent was prominently featured. As well, both prominently referenced an "Afropolitan agenda" (on the "Why Choose UCT" page). That agenda spoke to a conscious expression of a university mission that included but went beyond contributing to the enhancement of the quality of life in South Africa to expressing a responsibility for developing Africa seeking to "effect meaningful change in society" (on the "about Wits" page).

Yet, there were important differences between the South African universities, reflecting different positioning in geopolitical space. UCT's website was much more developed than that of Wits. It included a detailed portal for the International Academic Programs Office (IAPO) as well as a video. IAPO's homepage spoke to "an Afropolitan agenda [that] leverages UCT's unique position as a meeting point between Africa and the world in terms of global debate, knowledge creation, and the articulation of innovative solutions to the world's problems."(on the "IAPO" homepage of UCT). In a related vein, the video introduced in its opening "the evocative word … Ubuntu," a South African word that has philosophical means articulated by, among others, Desmond Tutu. The video went on to explain that "UCT prides itself on being a trendsetting Afropolitan university, making an ever growing contribution towards strengthening higher

education on the continent." In the video and throughout the website, UCT's historical prominence and established reputation within Africa were emphasized, as the oldest university in South Africa and one of the three oldest on the continent.

By contrast, Wits presented itself in African space as more dynamic, on the cutting edge, and connected to the economic and political issues of the city and region. It featured the richness of its internationally renowned paleontological sites alongside being in the "economic and industrial heartland of the continent." Even as it, like UCT featured its classical university architecture, the website indicated that the university "is not an ivory tower." And the site spoke to a commitment to academic freedom and social critique, and a "commitment to social justice" (on the "about Wits" page).

Similarly, regional positioning, identity, and projects were also evident in Egypt and Mexico on the websites of CU and UNAM. The CU site expresses special pride in founding other universities in Egypt (Alexandria University, Ain Shams University, and Assuit University) and elsewhere in the Middle East (Riyadh University-Saudi Arabia, Kuwait University-Kuwait, and the University of Baghdad-Iraq); all of which started as CU branch campuses. More than that, the Arabic language utilized on the site was classical and eloquent, which corresponded to the way the age and historical role of the city and university in the Arab world were emphasized.

So, too, the UNAM website and videos highlight Mexican heritage, and reference the fact that its central campus is listed as a UNESCO world heritage site, as well as a National Artistic Monument for its combination of modernism and pre-Hispanic influences in its architecture. The university is presented as the "largest and most important university of Mexico and Iberoamerica" (on the "about UNAM" page). As noted in earlier findings sections, UNAM also featured its role in relation to serving Mexicans and Mexican culture nationally and in other countries, such as the

U.S., through its extension schools in that country. In the "About UNAM" section of the website, it states,

> [UNAM's] main purpose is to serve the country and humanity, train professionals useful to society, organize and conduct research, mainly about national conditions and problems, and extend as broadly as possible, the benefits of culture." (on the "about UNAM" page)
>
> Through its institutional video, the university prides itself for "play[ing] a major role in the history and formation of [the] country"(UNAM, 2009, 0:20).

Further, the website featured the central role of the university in the history and formation of Mexico as a nation.

By contrast, on the websites of the South Korean universities, there was no clear reference to or featuring of East Asia as a regional community in which the South Korean universities are positioned. This omission may have something to do with South Korea's historical position in the region, and with the regional economic dominance and global economic prominence of Japan and China. However, KU's website did feature a significant national role for the institution.

> The university also continues to play the key role of "trusted advisor" in not only the area of national education policy, but also regarding the development of human capital as it affects the future course of civilization. (*http://oia.korea. ac.kr/listener.do?layout=itd_1*)

Even so, that same quote hints at what is in much evidence on the website, the sense that KU has a global leadership role to play, in ways that position the university on a global, not just a national stage. Indeed, both of the South Korean universities were very much oriented to the West in their positioning. For instance, remarkably, the only languages on the websites were English and Korean. That is surprising because each of these universities draws many international students from the region of Asia.

In a similar way, neither of the Argentinian universities' websites referenced a regional mission by way of serving or developing the Americas in which they are located. Yet there were dramatic differences between the two. The geopolitical space in which they were operating was quite different. The public university's site (UBA) was not focused on global rankings, in contrast to the UP site, which featured both international rankings and partnerships with leading universities internationally, about half of which were in the U.S. The UBA site, which was not very developed, had broken English links (interestingly, the icon for English was the UK's Union Jack), and no content in Portuguese, despite the size of its neighboring country Brazil and the large number Brazilian students (9%) (80% overall from Latin America) at the university. And by contrast to the UP site, the partnerships that were featured were with European, not U.S. universities. The only real geographic positioning that was evident was in a handbook for international students (in the form of a pdf) that focused on the beauty of Buenos Aires, and on matters such as transportation and local sites, from the standpoint of a tourist.

Discussion

How do universities present themselves to prospective international students on their websites? In pursuing this overarching question, we addressed three specific questions about dramaturgical performance to particular audiences, academic capitalism and the mission of higher education, and the influence of prevailing Anglo-American models and the possibility of agency connected to local, national, and regional considerations. After summarizing our findings, we discuss our empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions to the literature, and then close by identifying paths for future research.

Summary of Findings

In regard to our first question about what audiences of prospective students universities are focusing on, we found consistent evidence of bifurcated marketing. With some notable exceptions of the public university in Argentina (UBA) and the South Korean universities, most universities in regional hubs were marketing both to global and regional audiences. The bifurcation was partly linguistic. Study abroad and second language study were emphasized on the English language sites for potential students from the Global North. By contrast, academic rigor was emphasized, often in the local and regional language for regional students pursuing degree study. Notably, many of the sites were aspirational in their marketing, seeking to attract larger numbers of students from the Global North than they were currently attracting. Nevertheless, that aim tells us something important about the audiences universities were presenting themselves to as well as the messages they were conveying to those audiences and the ways in which these messages and the universities' sense of themselves were shaped by Anglo-American, academic capitalist patterns of internationalization that foreground higher education as a private commodity and enterprise.

In regard to the second research question, the bifurcated marketing was related to the different missions expressed in conceptualizing internationalization. With some exceptions (e.g., in South Korea), there was a difference between public and private universities. Private universities articulated a more academic capitalist shaped conception, marketing lifestyle consumption to those in the Global North who can afford to pay, and focusing on global rankings and partnerships with universities in the Global North. Although many public universities featured global rankings and prestige partnerships, they also foregrounded public good oriented missions, expressed in reference to social responsibilities and economic roles in relation to their locales/ nations/regions. Moreover, the emphasis was more on academic than on social matters.

In regard to the third research question, the differentiated audiences and differentially emphasized private and public good missions overlapped to no small degree with universities in the regional hubs playing on different stages in positioning themselves in geopolitical space. There was interesting regional variation. The international student websites of almost all of the universities in our sample were presenting themselves on a global stage. At the same time, in South Africa, Egypt, and Mexico, the public universities situated themselves in local, national, and regional space and time in ways that spoke to their local senses of self, even as they also defined themselves in part by global ranking systems. That speaks to the possibility of local agency in some of the regional hubs (not in South Korea) in relation to Anglo-American models of internationalization.

Contributions to the Literature

Our findings offer empirical, methodological, and conceptual contributions to the literature. Empirically, our contribution lies in concentrating on university practices relative to international students, particularly of leading universities in regional hubs (Lee & Schoole, 2015). Far more work tracks student flows across countries than considers the ways in which universities attempt to tap into (and shape) those flows. With some important exceptions, that is even more true of research on university marketing (de Wit, GacelÁvila, Jones, & Jooste, 2017). Studies of recruitment activities are limited (Deschamps & Lee, 2015; Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014), especially in regional hubs. Universities recruit students—we follow Rhoades' (2014, p. 918) suggestion to re-embody and repoliticize college choice by "putting college in college choice. "That makes particular sense given our framing of universities as players enacting dramaturgical performances that present messages about themselves to

audiences. It makes sense as well given our conceptualization of universities as academic capitalist enterprises marketing to prospective international students.

Substantively, our empirical analysis is a distinctive contribution in its scope, comparing five regions. So much organizational analysis is nation specific or compares institutions in two or three countries. Moreover, by virtue of its authorship, our study seeks to be linguistically and culturally sensitive to the particular contexts being compared.

Methodologically, our study also represents a contribution. We build on a limited but growing body of work that focuses on institutional websites as a vehicle for understanding organizational marketing and recruitment (Papadimitriou & Blanco Ramírez, 2015; Saichaie & Morphew, 2014). That work's value is grounded in evidence that websites are an important tool for recruiting students (Archer, 2015; Lee, 2008; NACAC, 2011), as well as evidence that website images can influence prospective students' perceptions and behaviors (Ihme et al., 2016).As such work expands, there is potential in building a time dimension into analyzing organizational behavior, exploring changes over time, or changes around particularly significant international developments, as with the rise of Right wing, nationalist movements that are hostile to internationalization. Our methodological choice made particular sense given our dramaturgical focus, and our interest in messages being marketed globally to prospective international students.

Finally, conceptually, our work is significant in problematizing the concept of internationalization and exploring the particularities of its presentation in different geopolitical spaces. Here, we join with recent scholarship calling for deeper understanding of how internationalization is practiced (Gao, 2015), and for exploration of mutuality in international partnerships (George Mwangi, 2017). We also join the call for more critical takes on internationalization (Stein, 2017).

From a mainstream organizational stance, Gao (2015) explores perceptions and strategies of internationalization. Finding evidence of a broad shared understanding of internationalization as being connected to achieving academic excellence, Gao's study also finds divergences by and within national context. For example, economic incentives are foregrounded and yet play out in distinctive ways—from a search for revenues by Australian universities to a search for human resources by universities in Singapore.

We, too, attend to economically grounded elements of universities' messaging to prospective international students. However, we frame that messaging in relation to whether and how the logics of academic capitalism are embodied in university marketing. As with related work, there is much value to understanding "what's being sold to what end" (Hartley & Morphew, 2008), "what college and university websites reveal about the purposes of higher education" (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014), and how universities "brand themselves" in social media and other forms of online messaging (Bélanger, Bali, Longden, 2014).

Our particular conceptual combination of Goffman's (1959) ideas of framing and dramaturgical performances with Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) academic capitalism raises questions about the ways in which universities' performances are pitched to particular student markets in ways that privilege certain class (and nation) related lifestyles to the exclusion of others. Performances that frame higher education as a private consumption good to particular consumers/customers, and as a private economic/prestige benefit to universities raise questions as to who is served and what public purposes are done disservice by this marketing.

In grounding our analysis in a question about whether and how Anglo-American models of academic capitalism are found in the marketing messages of universities in regional hubs, we build on and contribute to literature that extends the study of university internationalization

beyond the Global North and that offers critical takes on dominance of the Western, global imaginary. Recent work (de Wit et al., 2017) explores internationalization in Global South settings, including regional examples, national policies, and institutional level studies in developing countries and regions. More than that, our work adds to critical scholarship that analyzes and calls into question forms of internationalization that promote colonial messages and discourse (Blanco Ramírez, 2014) and Anglo-American global imaginary (Stein & de Andreotti, 2016) and that are unidirectional in forming partnerships (George Mwangi, 2017). Part of our contribution is that our findings point to the possibility of alternative paths, just as George Mwangi (2017, p. 58) does in regard to mutuality in partnership formation and efforts of universities to "better serve their communities locally and globally", and just as Stein (2017) does in mapping anti-colonial possibilities.

Notably and perhaps ironically, we see much potential for our contribution in drawing on Goffman's work. Few scholars have adopted Goffman's work to the study of higher education organizations. The most notable exception is Clark's (1960) adaptation of Goffman's (1952) "cooling the mark out" in his formulation of the "cooling out function," one of the most cited concepts in the literature on community colleges. Ironically, Clark's (1980) focus in coining this term was not on social stratification, just as the work of Goffman did not center issues of power and social stratification. Yet, the contribution of this metaphor and concept has been enormous in helping us to see structures and processes by which underserved populations of students are tracked and stratified. So, too, our work connects the symbolic presentation of university self to academic capitalism and the varied ways that institutions in regional hubs publicly perform internationalization in ways that in many cases privilege academic capitalist, Anglo-American models and yet that also in some cases express internationalization in ways that feature public

purposes projects tailored to particular locales and regions. We situate these public organizational performances of internationalization in five regional hubs and distinctive geopolitical spaces, exploring the power of the global academic capitalist system in shaping institutional practice in regional hubs, as well as the possibility of some universities in some of these hubs enacting messages or scripts that reflect enduring local, national, and regional commitments and public purposes. In making choices about how to market to international students, professionals and institutions are making choices about who (not) to serve, about the balance between public and privatized missions, and about exercising agency in relation to global patterns by playing distinctive roles attuned to their locales.

Future Research

The potential for future research is considerable. We speak to three possible paths. First, drawing on Goffman's attention to potential differences/ tensions in performances between different "actors", "players", and "teams", we have focused on the organizational images presented by international students' offices. Yet, what is the relationship between that public image and what is presented on the general university website as well as the behind-the-scenes, "back stage" negotiations about and material investments in the public performances (Manning, 2014)? Public symbolic performance is not always matched by private investment. It is also worth considering what we saw in designing our study—the occasional disjuncture between the general institutional websites and those of the interstitial international offices, in ways that reflect different interpretations and levels of commitment to various cultural and economic purposes of internationalization.

A second path for future work is to explore the effects and effectiveness of universities' marketing and business practices in regard to international students. Again, the dramaturgical

frame leavened by academic capitalism is useful, reminding us that performances have audiences, and that a key part of the social interaction involved between actors and audiences is the reaction of the audiences. Here, we focused on the organizational actor. Another line of research would be to address the audiences, targeted and overlooked, and the effect of the messages on them. Recent research has demonstrated that age diversity on websites or lack thereof, can affect prospective students' application behaviors (Ihme et al., 2016). Does "what is being sold" (Hartley & Morphew, 2008) have similar effects on prospective students by nation of origin, race, class, gender, and sexual orientation? How do marketing messages contribute to raced, gendered and other patterns of social inequity in higher education globally? Moreover, how successful are the marketing efforts of universities? There may be gaps between the aspirations of institutions to recruit certain types of students and the students they actually succeed in attracting.

A third path of work would be to focus on possible variations to the prevailing Anglo-American patterns of internationalization in three regards. First, our data point to the possibility of some universities exercising agency in mapping paths more attuned to higher education's public good purposes. There is a need to explore other sources and types of alternatives in Global North contexts less embedded in academic capitalism and in monetizing international students by charging them high tuition (see Rhoades & Sporn, 2016). There is also a need to explore "social entrepreneurialism" in internationalization (Bornstein, 2004).

Yet another source of variation on the academic capitalist pattern of internationalization is that by virtue of location or resources some universities are not in a position to play that game successfully—they are "doomed" to fail (Stensaker & Benner, 2013). Our study focused on elite universities. What does internationalization mean in other organizational contexts—are there more locally and/or public good oriented renditions of internationalization in these settings?

Finally, the rise of right-wing, xenophobic, nationalist, separatist, and racist, anti-globalization politicians, parties, and movements globally represents a challenge to and for universities' international work, perhaps particularly for recruiting international students (Altbach & de Witt, 2017; Rhoades, 2017). The deep reservoir of public hostility not just to refugees and immigrants, but to internationalization, which often translates into policies and practices hostile to free movement across borders presents a huge challenge to universities seeking to internationalize. How are universities responding? Here, what Goffman refers to as the "The arts of impression management," (1959, p. 208) offers a heuristic. Dramaturgical performances are strategic efforts to manage and present images to audiences, but there can be various types of disruptions to the performances, which can threaten the impression being presented. That is what universities in many countries are confronting. Even before the counter-globalization movements of recent years, embedded images in Western conceptions of internationalization help explain the racism experienced by some international students (Stein, 2017). Now, in this context of explicit and heightened hostility to "other" (Rhoades, 2017). How do universities manage such threats to the images of internationalization on their websites?}

In closing, there is much value in studying marketing to international students as a dramaturgical performance of university actors presenting themselves to audiences locally, nationally, regionally, and globally. At the same time, there is much to be gained by situating the analysis of such public performances in the context of academic capitalist practices and the particular geopolitical spaces in which the institutions are located. For amidst the globalizing influences of dominant Anglo-American models of internationalization, there lies the possibility of alternative, more public good oriented messaging and practices in different contexts.

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Table 1: University Sample

Country	University	Public / Private
Argentina	Universidad de Buenos Aires	Public
	Universidad de Palermo	Private
Egypt	American University in Cairo	Private
	Cairo University	Public
Mexico	Monterrey Institute of Technology and Higher Education	Private
	National Autonomous University of Mexico	Public
South Africa	University of Cape Town	Public
	University of the Witwatersrand	Public
South Korea	Korea University	Private
	Seoul National University	Public